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Foreword

●128 THIS BOOK *is a history of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico and the civilizations which they wrought. It was a hard book to write. It will be a hard book to read. There are two reasons for this unfortunate circumstance. First, the Indians did not have the same goals in life which we have, so that their pattern of life is different from our own and difficult to understand. Second, Indian history has to be reconstructed from what we can find, so that much of the material, like techniques of making household implements, does not fall within the scope of our usual historical reading. The first four chapters deal with such reconstruction, and the reader is warned in advance that the going will be very difficult. These pages may be skipped if he is not particularly interested in such a historical background.*

000 *The remaining chapters are based on contemporary observations made by the conquering Spaniards and by the Aztecs themselves. They deal with people who were seen alive, their culture functioning. We can form an impression of what the Aztecs were like, and this makes easier reading, since we can envisage people in terms of what they did, not in terms of the objects which they made. Even so, this will not be a*

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payment without declaring a new war and making a fresh campaign. Consequently a bond of sympathy forged from mutually shared ill-fortune grew up between otherwise somewhat hostile communities. Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan,* towns at the backdoor of Tepanec territory, made a pact with Texcoco across the lake; and the allies, rising suddenly, overthrew the new power. Maxtla was slain, his city burned and, contrary to the practice of the time, his people incorporated into the allied tribes. Land was apportioned to warriors who had performed notable feats of valor. So completely did the allies break the Tepanecs, that all that remains of their history is the memory of Tezozomoc and Maxtla and some petty local chieftains who succeeded them.

The Texcocans regained their prestige after this war, but the Tenochcas, who had begun as mere vassals, grew so rapidly in strength that at the coming of the Spaniards they had managed to eclipse their former lords, as we shall see in the following chapter.

These events disclose a picture of expanding populations and ensuing intertribal conflict. This cultural history shows a diffuse background of tribal arts and practices gradually welded into a closely similar whole, Aztec civilization. The process was achieved before Tenochtitlan attained eminence, so at the cost of academic tediousness the term Aztec has been reserved for the civilization, Tenochca for the people who so conspicuously made it known.

The civilization of Teotihuacan disappeared before the infiltration of intruding tribes. The nomadic groups referred to in the chronicles have left no identifiable remains. Hunters reduced to the bare necessities which they can carry on their

*Tla-co'-pan.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Present Study

The present paper is the first part of a study of the empire that Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere[1] and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matricula de Tributos;* its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matricula* is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns—ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

[1] R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 1: 349–349.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan [Tacuba], Texcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1428 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicans. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

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painted along the outer and lower margins of the page, the rest of the page being taken up by the items of tribute for which these towns were jointly responsible. The place names on a given page prove to be geographically contiguous on modern maps, and so it is evident that the towns were regarded as a unit, as all having something in common. I have called each region thus indicated a "province," partly in order to provide some territorial division, but also because these groupings of towns were in some measure expressions of former political or linguistic units. Most of the Matlatzinca-speaking towns, for example, cluster on a page of their own; moreover, they were all conquered in a continuous campaign of a few years. These provinces (indicated on the map by large arabic numerals) I have named after the introductory glyphs, assuming the first glyph on each page to represent the most important town. Other available sources justify this. In another source, for instance, in the province I have named Tepequacuilco, Tepequacuilco is stated to be the "presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recogieron de toda la cuisca [Cohuixca]";[5] in that which I have named Coayxtlahuacan, Coayxtlahuacan is called "donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."[6] The borders of the provinces as they existed in 1519 have been commented on in detail where these were adjacent to non-Mexican lands.

Most of these invaluable place glyphs of the *Matricula* could be read even if they were all we had, and they are of course the final authorities. The task of reading them, however, is greatly simplified by the annotations they bear; the *Matricula* itself contains scattered and not always reliable identifications in roman letters, and the copy of the *Matricula* in the *Codex Mendocino* contains a complete series of highly reliable ones. In order to have some norm for spelling, I have everywhere followed these *Mendocino* versions. There are objections to this procedure—which gives us "Tuluca" for what is better rendered "Tolocan,"—but it shows how one Indian pronounced all the names of the Empire before the corrupting European influences set in.

[5] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223.

[6] *PNE*, 4: 165; 4: 19[6] agrees. Likewise, Tochpan (Tuchpa in *Mendocino*) has seven towns, and Ixtilxochit[l] (*Obras históricas* [1892], II: 197) says that "La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias." The fact that the initial glyph is often the only one identified in roman letters in the *Matricula* is also taken into account.

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I have included a certain amount of related ethnographic material which has appeared in the course of accumulating data on place names and locations. Names for certain stretches of territory, names of language groups (these two often intertwined), reasons for such names, and occasional remarks on customs or gods form the main part of this supplementary material, which shows the great diversity of the Empire. (This diversity is still present: even today, a traveler in Mexico can see twenty countries in one.)

Here, however, the supplement stops. I have reluctantly excluded every scrap of the historical sections originally written to accompany these provinces. By suppressing an approximate history now, I can give an accurate history later. Nor has it been possible here to touch on the question of government and administration of tribute,[4] and on the topics of the motivations and formulae of native warfare, all of which need reëxamination.

In view of the nature of the authority for this map of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica—a tribute reckoning—it has, however, seemed appropriate to add some data on tribute. These data come chiefly from two sources: the *Matricula*, which gives the tribute from provinces as units, but not from their component towns; and the geographical *relaciones* of the 1580's, which often record the kind of tribute from a given town. Here again, I have omitted incidental materials in order to focus on the map. I have treated the *Matricula* tribute data in a summary fashion,[5] but have given all other tribute information in full.

[4] Manuel Moreno, *La organización política y social de los aztecas* (1931), gives something on these points.

[5] I.e., by simply presenting whatever the Spanish annotations of the *Mendocino* copy say (for these give the frequency of payment, which is not deducible from the *Matricula* pictures alone), and by correcting a few errors in regard to quantities of goods. This method leaves much to be desired. A real study of the *Matricula* tributes would involve that document and its two copies—the checking of all items in all variant drawings and annotations from different hands, with special note taken of the quite unexploited annotations in Núñez on the *Matricula*; the investigation of native measurements and weights; the detailed itemization of various styles of mantles, skirts, and warriors' costumes portrayed (each of which has a name and a symbolism and many of which are badges of certain social categories); the question how often payment was made and into whose hands, where it was stored, and many other matters. Until such a study is prepared, the student should consult Cooper Clark's edition of the *Mendocino*, supplementing this with the works of Eduard Seler, especially his *Altmexikanischer Schmuck und soziale und militärische Rangabzeichen*. On the frequency of tribute payment, some observations have been made by R. C. E. Long, *The Payment of Tribute in the Codex Mendoza* (1942), and by R. H. Barlow, *The Periods of Tribute Collection in Moctezuma's Empire* (1943). Those interested in place glyphs and etymologies should see Peñafiel's imperfect, but still not superseded, *Nombres geográficos de México* (1885).

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II. THE TARASCAN FRONTIER

128 Because there were many provinces in the Empire which it is our purpose to delimit, some few grand divisions seem advisable. These have been made in a rather arbitrary way, with varying criteria. In certain regions it is possible to point out a particular zone as the special sphere of influence of some one or another member of the Triple Alliance. The six provinces described below, however, have been grouped on the basis of their common enemy and peril, the Purépecha or Tarascans, against whom they formed a long frontier. Brand has published a useful map of the Tarascan dominions and their fortified towns facing the Mexica, from the Río de las Balsas north.[1]

1. Çihuatlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On the sixteenth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 38' of the *Codex*
114 *Mendocino* appear the twelve towns of the most westerly province of the Empire we are about to depict. This province, now the "Costa Grande" of Guerrero, extends west of Acapulco to the outlet of the Río de las Balsas. In the *Matricula*, seven of the towns are identified by annotations in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The province of Çihuatlan was in a region which is wretchedly mapped to this day, where half the place names seem to have disappeared. If it were not for a "Relación de los pueblos que visitó Gaspar Xuarez en la provincia de Çacatula," of the mid-sixteenth century, the present map would scarcely be possible. There is supplementary information in the relación of Zacatula itself, dating from the 1580's, which the writer has published from a nineteenth-century copy—the original remaining unpublished and apparently unpublishable, for some mysterious reason known only to its present guardians.

635 Since this relación was available only after the printing of the map,
114 two or three inconsistencies between map and text have inevitably
128 resulted.

The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet

[1] Brand, "An Historical Sketch of Geography and Anthropology in the Tarascan Region. Part I," *New Mexico Anthropologist* (1943), Vol. 6–7, facing p. 80.

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"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Apancalecā (?), 2	[Missing]
Coyucac, 8	Coyoquilla
Nochcoc, 10	Nuxco
Panotlan, 9	[Missing]
Petlatlan, 6	Petatlán
Xihuacan, 5	[Missing]
Xolochiuhyan, 7	Jolochuca
Yztapan, 3	[Missing]
Çacatulan, 1	[Missing]
Çihuatlan, 9 [*sic*]	[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlaltomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight importance in aboriginal days—to nonseafarers the celebrated port facilities meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

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one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[30]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[31]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528)[32] as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[33]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[34] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[30] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas .... Haziap una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della cosian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Monteçuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[31] "Relación de Soltepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[32] *PNE*, 7: 191: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron asi."

[33] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

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two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.[108] Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matricula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino:*

MENDOCINO	ATLAS
Malinalco, 1	[No change]
Çonpahuacā, 2	Zumpahuacan

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.[109]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çonpahuacan is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matricula* annotation. The glyph may be read either way; the name of the modern town, however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Malinalco was a great religious center. It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

[108] I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matricula* and on fol. 40r of the *Mendocino*.

[109] *PNE*, 1: No. 346.

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III. THE OLD TEPANEC DOMAIN

THE SEVEN PROVINCES which are considered next are linked historically by having been subject to the Tepanec tribe before the formation of the Empire of the Mexica. We know this because the major towns of these seven provinces are listed in a very early colonial document—which will be referred to repeatedly hereafter—as being former subjects of Tlacopan [Tacuba].[1] Tlacopan, of course, inherited these towns when the major Tepanec center of Azcapotzalco was wiped out, a century before Cortés, and brought them as her dowry to the new Triple Alliance. This early document is the only known record which approximates a tribute list of the Tepanec Empire. It is supported—though such support is really needless—by the relación of Tecpatepec (1579),[2] one of the towns of this region, which tells us that Tecpatepec was settled by a venturesome Indian of Azcapotzalco about 1370.

These seven provinces are not all the former Tepanec domain—we have statements from towns of the Toluca area which were included also[3]—but they seem to have formed the heart of it, and they embrace the region about which we may be most dogmatic. It is, on the whole, both physiographically and culturally, a geographical entity, a gateway and frontier of the Chichimeca.

7. QUAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Immediately to the west of Tlacopan, in the modern State of Mexico, lay the province of Quahuacan. It is depicted on the tenth page of the *Matricula* and on the copy of that page, folio 32r of the *Codex Mendocino*, and includes thirteen towns. The present map is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México" (1937), on which nine towns of this province have been located.

[1] "Memorial de los pueblos subjetos a esta cabecera de tlacupan," published first in facsimile by Paso y Troncoso and printed in *ENE*, 14: 118.

[2] *PNE*, 6: 35.

[3] E.g., certain subjects of Teotenango: Atlatlauhca, Cepayauhtla, and Ciuhtepec. *GPM*, pp. 163–164.

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TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[241 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quauumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan
[128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[16] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[17] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[16] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[17] *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almelonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

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635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[m]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 632 317 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[n] Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1:228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauhtitlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26′ of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north ● [128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[m] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Impero de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[n] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

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y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacã, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocã, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocã and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[39]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[40]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[41]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca,* in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[39] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[40] *GPM*, p. 263.
[41] *FNE*, 3: 33, n. 1.

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TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[294 714] 400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285] 4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth [125] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.[a]

12. Axocopan

Sources of the Map

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the *Matricula* which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Hueypuchtla, since it is preserved for us in this location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex*, folio 27'.[b] Axocopan Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet "San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below:

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Atenco, 5	[Missing]
Axocopan, 1	[Missing]
Mizquiyahuala, 7	Mixquiahuala
Tecpatepec, 8	[No change]
Temohuayā, 2	[Missing]
Tetepanco, 3	Tetepango
Tezcatepec, 9	[Missing]
Tlaahuililpā, 4	Tlahuelilpa
Xochichiuca	[Missing]
Yzmiquilpā, 10	Ixmiquilpan

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

[a] "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de mexico á los cuales adoraban como a dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que podía cada vno ó lo que querían los que lo rrecogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiauan los cojedores con açotes y otros malos tratamientos."

[b] Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6–7. This vanished *Matricula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia
[233] montesuma q̄ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

[237] Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[83]

[411 281] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[84]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29r of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map
● [128] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocā, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyā, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[83] *PNE*, 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."
[84] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54'). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" [128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cozcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is [648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan."[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communications with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 424.
[10] "Relación de ... Meztitlan," p. 193, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

16. Tuchpa

Sources of the Map

635 114 The *Matricula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.[26] It is copied on folio 52' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa [128] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have been located appear below:

103

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Miahuaapā, 4	Miahuapam
Mictlan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Papantla, 6	[No change]
Tuchpa, 2	Tuxpan
Çihuateopa, 5	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Oçelotepec and Tlatiçapā.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

Remarks on Towns

632 131 *Mictlan* is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (a), according to Lehmann.[27] It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain ancient documents.[28]

Oçelotepec might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier which we give, but this remains to be established.

Papantla claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II[29]—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

[26] See Introduction, p. 7.

[27] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (a), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing, see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprache- und Alterthumskunde* (1902–1923), II: 272 and III: 410–449.

[28] Lehmann, vs. 1348 D5, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

[29] RHE, 1: 488: "tenian estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por monteçuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que monteçuma naçiese ni eredase este rreyno no estauan estos yndios subjetos al padre de monteçuma ni á otra persona y que tenian guerra con el y defendian sus tierras ... y que despues vinieron dende á muchos años que ya estavan cansados de defender sus tierras é terminos se dieron briamente á monteçuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.[**]

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.[*]

19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino*. There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino*, as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [28] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 3	Acaxochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
Quachqueçaloyã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

** RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á mocteçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."
* RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á monteçuma mantas de algodon."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632
651

Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.*

20. ACOLHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula,* which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino,* which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco, but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

[28]

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acolhuacā, 23	[See Remarks on Towns]
Aztaquemeca	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cenpoalan, 5	Zempoala
Ecatepec, 15	[No change]
Epaçoyucā, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiçilan, 9	Huitzilac
Matixco, 14	Maquixco
Teacalco, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]
Temazcalapā, 10	Temaxcalapan
Tepechpa, 16	Tepexpan

* *PNE,* 1: No. 21: "Y da mas seyscientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

THERE IS a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3]

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion.

21. CHALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the nineteenth page of the *Matricula* and folio 41ᵛ of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Chalco, 1	Tlalmanalco
Quauhxumulco, 2	Cuajomulco
Tepuztlan, 3	Tepoztlan

[1] Lehmann, vs. 1343.
[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.
[3] Quoted in n. 36 below.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles••
2 warriors' costumes with shields•

FOOD•

6 wooden bins of maize	2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of beans	2 wooden bins of huauhtli

22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.[1] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23r, with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23v. The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlycpac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e corrumpemos agora aquel bocable y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

[323
289]

OTHER GOODS

2,000 pottery bowls**
8,000 reams of native paper**

651
632

Tribute of the component towns.—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24ᵛ and 25ᵛ of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling.

● [128]

This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present place names are compared below:

103

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayoxochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

** *FNE*, 1: No. 163.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[26]

Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[27]

24. TLALCOÇAUHTITLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40r. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quauhtecomaccinco, according to one lone reference, was four leagues from Olinalá.[28]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[29]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[30] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[31]

---

[26] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[27] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[28] *PNE*, 5: 210.

[29] *PNE*, 5: 250.

[30] *GPM*, p. 112.

[31] *GPM*, p. 194.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

16 pieces of colored lacquer
268 fine *jicaras* and *tecomates*
20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[a]

25. Quiauhteopan

Sources of the Map

On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

Remarks on Towns

Quauhtecomatla may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[b] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[c]

Quiauhteopan was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[d] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[a] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[b] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[c] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108'. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[d] *PNE*, 5: 210.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

VI. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHEAST

THE ACOLHUAQUE conquered the lands along the southern Gulf coast as well as those of the northern. Documentation is sparse but sufficient. Ixtlilxochitl names Tlatlauhquitepec and Quauhtochco, Cuetlaxtlan, and Tochtepec all as conquests made by Texcoco, and each of these towns heads a page of lesser tributaries in the *Matricula*. The "Relación de Cempoalla" supports Ixtlilxochitl and also tells by what means the Mexica later acquired the Texcocan dominions.

Xoconochco, the far-flung southern province, has been added to chapter vi simply because it fits no better elsewhere. It is the only province in this group of five which cannot certainly be called old Acolhua terrain.

26. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlatlauhquitepec lay in north-central Veracruz, extending somewhat into northern Puebla. The *Matricula* leaf on the recto side of which it is painted belongs between pages 26 and 27 of the manuscript as it exists today, but long ago it was torn out and taken to Philadelphia.[1] This detached page "26A" is copied in its proper place in the *Mendocino*, as folio 51r. Of the eleven principal towns of the province, nine have been located, largely on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names follow:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ayutuchco, 5	Ayotoxco
Teotlalpan, 1	Hueytlalpan
Teçiutlan, 9	Teziutlán
Tlatlauhquitepec, 7	[No change]
Xonoctla, 3	Jonotla
Yaunahuac, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yayauquitlalpa, 4	Yancuitlalpan
Ytztepec, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns remain to be found: Caltepec and Yxcoyamec.

[1] See Introduction, p. 7.

Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes and shields*

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar**[31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[32] and liquidambar.[33]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. QUAUHTOCHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Totoltan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 46a: "eran basallos de monteçuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

1/A [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.—Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

FOOD	
20 loads of cacao*	
OTHER GOODS	
1,600 bales of cotton*	

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.[*]

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It was the southernmost of the provinces which kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.[*]

Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.[*]

[*] According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

[*] RHE, 1:158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

[*] Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10:61: "don myn enrriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^{d} hago m^{d} a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p^{o} de myctlanquautla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en va cerro."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

29. Tochtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in northeastern Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matricule*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46r. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coçamaloapā, 12	Cosamaloapan
Chinantlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Mixtlan, 13	
Otlatitlan, 4	Otlatlán
Oxitlan, 2	Ojitlán
Puctlan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teotlilan, 1	Teutila
Tlacotlalpā, 6	Tlacotalpan
Tochtepec, 3	Tuxtepec
Tototepec, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Toztlan, 7	
Yxmatlatlan, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochonochco:

Ayotzintepec	Teteutian
Ayoçintepec	Tzinacanoztoc
Cuezcomatitlā	Xayaco
Michapan, 14 (?)	Xicaltepec
Michtlan	Yaotlan

We may add the following town to the province: Ucila (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Chinantlan has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites."

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified."

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique."

30. Xoconochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula*, and the copy appears on folio 47' of the *Codex Mendocino*. Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huehuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiztlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

" "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis' " (*PNE*, 5: 2).

" *PNE*, 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

" *PNE*, 4: 47–48: "obedeçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... , y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Gouernador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

101 197 IN EACH of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider, the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;[1] in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

31. TEPEACAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This cabecera, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 42[r] of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the 128 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acatzinco, 15	[No change]
Coatzinco, 9	Coatzingo
Chietlan, 5	Chietla
Epatlan, 7	[No change]
Huehuetlā, 4	Huehuetlan
Nacochtlan, 8	Necoxtla
Quatlatlauhcā, 10	Huatlatlauca
Quauhquechulan, 1	Huaquechula
Quauhtinchan, 12	Cuautinchan
Quechulac, 17	Quecholac
Tecalco, 13	Tecali
Tecamachalco	[No change]
Teonochtitlā, 2	

[1] E.g., east to Cozamaloapan and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 5, N° 5 (1942), pp. 124–125.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

32. YOALTEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 18 of the *Matricula*, and the lower third of folio 40' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified.

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ehuacalco, 4	Calihualá
Patlanalā (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzilacapan, 6	Silacayoápam
Yoaltepec (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yxicayā (?), 10	[See Remarks on Towns]

One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piazzla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Ycpatepec (?) (7).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.[29] It has been placed in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,[30] which were within Tepeacac Province, as we see in the *Matricula*. In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.[31]

[29] *PNE*, 5: 59: "Acatlan reconocia por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Motecçuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de Mexico."
[30] *PNE*, 5: 60.
[31] *PNE*, 1: No. 6.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

33. Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[b] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y esentos". (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian cón mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72]

34. Tlachquiauco

Sources of the Map

The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

Remarks on Towns

Mixtepec was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpixque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

[i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted - Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the
114 glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are preserved in the *Mendocino* copy, however. The present map is based
● [128] chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names are given below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coaxomulco, 11	Cuasimulco
Coayxtlahuacā, 6	Coixtlahuaca
Cuicatlan, 7	Cuicatlán
Mictlan, 18	Mitlatongo
Nochiztlan, 15	Nochixtlán
Tamaçolan, 19	Tamazola
Tamaçulapā, 4	Tamazulápam
Tepuzcululā, 13	Teposcolula
Texopan, 5	Tejúpam
Xaltepec, 17	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yancuitlan, 14	[See Remarks on Towns]
Çoçolan, 16	[See Remarks on Towns]

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12	Malinaltepec, 10
Chila, 2	Papaloticpac, 8
Icxitlan, 3	Petlaltzinco, 1

Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlatlaucca* was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.[70] It may be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

[712] *Coayxtlahuacan* was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.[71]

Chila (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

[70] *PNE*, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconoçian por Rey a Munteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llama ran 'calpisques' ... hacian rrecoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouinçia de Cuestlaua a, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

[71] *PNE*, 4: 165, for example, speaks of "Cuestlauca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papaloticpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Izucar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 651 Petlaltzinco was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed through the town.[99]

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers.[100]

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal.[101]

Çoçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital.[102]

36. Coyolapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44'. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which [128] has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Camotlan, 3	Camotlán
Coyolapan, 21	Cuilapam
Etlan, 9	Etla
Guaxacac, 19	Oaxaca de Juárez
Macuilxochic, 22	Macuilzóchitl
Octlan, 29	Ocotlán
Quauxilotidan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 26	Teítipac (San Sebastian)
Tlalcuechahuayã, 24	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

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[99] *PNE*, 6: 70: " ... era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exerxitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzinco pasauan bastimentos."

[100] *PNE*, 4: 95: " ... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que compravan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

[101] *PNE*, 4: 55: " ... estaban subgetos a su rrey Motecçuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Motecçuma esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

[102] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de zuzula."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
712 Yztteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula,* our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs
632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
651 *tricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17r, ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located;
● [128] and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen on the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula,* Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... paresçe ser que como el gran montezuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que sienpre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de guatimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ...." He substitutes Coatzaqualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Poctepec, Yztteyocan, and Quauhtochco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [29]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac' [358]

38. PETLACALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [123] ●
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

* San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

landed tenure, and we therefore must recur to it frequently in the course of our allusions to the history of the tribe.

Secondly: we do not pretend to review the history of ancient Mexico as fully as it *should* be done, but only as far as it touches the subject of this paper. Many points therefore, which ought to be closely scrutinized, will be passed over lightly, or without any discussion.

One of the most learned authors of the 16th century, on American topics,—the Jesuit father Joseph de Acosta, says: "Learned men affirm and write that the relations and the memories of these Indians do not go further back than four-hundred years. . . . . "[5]

Indeed, although much has been written about the aboriginal history of Mexico, it appears as if the 12th century was the *limit* of *definite tradition*.[6] What lies beyond it is vague and uncertain, remnants of traditions being intermingled with legends and mythological fancies. Nothing positive can be gathered except that, even during the earliest times, Mexico was settled or overrun by sedentary, as well as by nomadic tribes,—that both acknowledged

[5] "Historia natural y moral de las Indias," Lib. I, cap. XXV, p. 83. The passage relates directly to Peru, but is just as applicable to Mexico.

[6] "We venture to assume this period as the one during which traditional history of Mexico really begins. Of course, those writers who have made the fabrication of a Mexican chronology a special object, go much further back. The late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, for instance, quotes the "Codex Chimalpopoca," purported to bear date 22 May, 1558, and which begins as follows (History of the three suns). "This is the beginning of the histories of all kinds which happened a long time ago, how the earth was divided, and distributed to each one, its origin and foundation, how the sun began to give to each one his share, assigning the limits; there are now six times four-hundred years, and one-hundred more, and thirteen more . . . ." The distinguished historian concludes therefrom, that 955 B. C. there occurred already, in Middle America, a division of lands according to a systematic register ("Popol-Vuh." Introduction, page CXI). Clavigero's Chronology begins 596 A. D. ("Storia del Messico," Lib. II, cap. I). Don Mariano Veytia ("Historia Antigua de Méjico," published by Sr. Ortega, 1836), after fixing the date of the establishment of "Huehuetlapallan," to the year 2237 of the earth's creation (Vol. I, cap. II, p. 23), or 1796 B. C. (p. 219) begins for the settlement of the Toltecs at Tolantzinco in 607 A. D. (Cap. XXII, p. 121, of 1st volume). Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Texcuco," translation by Mr. Ternaux Compans) says: (Cap. II p. 13) that the Toltecs founded Tollan 503 A. D. No reliance can be placed on these statements and dates. They are not any longer traditional, but mythical, and although we are far from disregarding the importance of legends or myths for historical investigations, we still cannot accept them as chronological bases. The oldest date in the history of Mexico which appears to be approximately certain is that of the settlement of the Mexicans in the marsh where they subsequently built the pueblo of Tenochtitlan. It would about agree with A. D. 1325. Allowing two centuries more for the period during which the Mexicans and their kindred tribes reached the valley, we are carried to the twelfth century as the time from which distinct tradition has yet reached us. What lies beyond can occasionally be rendered of value for ethnological purposes, but it admits of no definite historical use.

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Our investigations are therefore confined to the limits of the single tribe, and we have selected for that purpose the Mexicans

"*Die Culturvoelker des alten Amerika*" (Cincinnati, 1876, '77, '78), has, in regard to the statements made in "*Art of War*" (p. 100, note 17; p. 133, note 132), and in "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 412 and 413, also note 56; pp. 417 and 418, also note 60), called my attention to a passage from *Sahagun*, "*Historia general*" (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313), "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados, para que cada un año los diesen al señor que les habia conquistado, y el tributo era de lo que en ella se criaba y se hacia, y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." The author himself, however, gives the explanation of what he intends to designate by such "governors and officials who should preside in said province." In his 12th Book, (Cap. II, p. 5, Vol. III), he says: "La primera vez que parecieron navios en la costa de esta Nueva-España, los capitanes de Moctheuzoma que se llamaban *Calpixques* que estaban cerca de la costa luego fueron á ver que era aquello que vino, que nunca habian visto navios, uno de los cuales fue el calpixque de Cuextecati que se llamaba Pinotl: llevaba consigo otros calpixques uno que se llamaba Yaotzin, que residia en el pueblo de Mictlanquauhtla, y otro que se llamaba Teozinzocatl, que residia en el pueblo de Teociniocan, y otro que se llamaba Cuitlalpitoc, este no era calpixque sino criado de uno de estos calpixques, y principalejo que se llamaba Tentlil." In this Sahagun about agrees with *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*, Cap. CVI, CVII, CVIII, CIX), inasmuch as the latter also states the officers to have been calpixques, th. is, "Stewards" or *gatherers of tribute*. Compare *Alonzo de Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," (Parte IIa, p. 12.)

The names of these Indians who received Cortés are found nearly alike in all the authors, but we are struck by the fact that many of them call the natives "governors" of Montezuma. I quote *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 32 and 33, Vedia, Vol. II) *Gomara* (pp. 312, 313, 314, etc., Vedia I). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. LXXIX, p. 100). "*Cruautés horribles*," (p. 3.) *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 116; Cap. V, p. 117). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 367; Cap. XVII, p. 369, etc.). *Velancurt* (Vol. II, cap. IV, p. 43). *Fray Joseph Joaquin Granados y Galvez*, ("*Tardes Americanas*" Mexico, 1778, 9th evening, p. 234). *Abbate F. X. Clavigero* ("*Geschichte von Mexico*," Leipzig, 1790, a german translation of the Italian original which appeared at Cesena in 1780. Vol. II, Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 16). These *governors* therefore were but "calpixques," in other words *collectors of tribute*. This is already stated by *Oviedo y Valdés* (Vol. III, Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 259), speaking of Cempoal, "porque los indios è ministros, que alli estaban para mandarlos, eran oficiales è mayordomos de la cibdad de México." The "*Real Ejecutoria de S. M., Sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga pertenecientes á los Caciques de Axapuzco, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba*," (Col. de Doc's, Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 5), calls all the Indians in question "enviados por el gran Montezuma."

This explains the evident contradictions of Sahagun.

It is a singular fact, but one amply proven by the records of the conquest, that nowhere did the Spaniards, on their whole march from the coast to Mexico, meet with Mexican *administrators* or *rulers* of subjected tribes. Quotations are useless, we only refer to the remarkable description furnished by Bernal Diez of the events at Quiahuistlan (Vedia II, Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41), which culminated in the violence done to the "recaudadores de Montezuma." This scene, which is highly characteristic, has been beautifully "remodeled," through a few omissions, by our own great *W. H. Prescott* ("*History of the conquest of Mexico*," 1850, Book II, chap. VII, p. 349). There is, finally, abundant proof of the fact that neither the Mexicans, nor any of their confederates, ever attempted to change or subvert the organization and mode of government of any of the tribes whom they overthrew. I refer to *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 502). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 547). *Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*, (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 276). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista*

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128 proper, who dwelt, as elsewhere established by us, on the partly artificial islands in the lagune of the Mexican valley.[7] Besides the prominence acquired by them in the annals of history, it may safely be assumed that, in a general manner, their Institutions are typical of those of other sedentary tribes.[8]

121 *Tribal* society, based according to Lewis H. Morgan upon KIN, and not *political* society which rests, according to the same author, upon TERRITORY and PROPERTY, must therefore be looked for among the ancient Mexicans. It remains for us to establish its degree of development, its details, and the manner of its working.

In order to comprehend the true nature of these questions, we should secure as much information as possible of the *past* of the tribe under consideration. Institutions are never wilfully or accidentally created, but evolved; in other words, they are the result of growth in knowledge and experience.[9] The great difference existing between tribal society and political is explained as a dif-

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de México," Col. de Doc., Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 561, and especially p. 592), "México tenia en su tiempo en el hacer guerra esta órden; que yendo á la guerra, al que se daba de paz no tenia sobre él tributo cierto, sino que tantas veces en el año lo llevaban presente á su discrecion del que lo llevaba; pero si era poco mostrábales mal rostro, y si mucho agradeciaselo. Y en estos no ponia mayordomo ni recaudador ni cosa; el señor se era señor. Los que tomaba de guerra decian *tequitin tlacotl*, que quiere decir, tributan como esclavos. En estos ponia mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los Señores mandaban su gente, eran debajo de la mano destos de México . . . . ." *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 185), *Granados y Galves*. (5th night, p. 168), a singular picture of purest feudality, for which Gomara may be responsible in part. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (*Letter of 4th Nov.*, 1532, 1st; "*Recueil*," (pp. 245, 246, and 247). *Zurita* "*Rapport*," (p. 16), to be compared with Mendieta and Torquemada.

Consequently there was no tendency towards unification or nationalization in all the successful and extensive raids which the Nahuatlaca of the valley of Mexico carried on for a full century. No organic body, larger than the tribe, resulted from these sanguinary forays; because the confederacy itself was not the end, but the beginning of these undertakings. This justifies the view which I shall hereafter advocate in regard to the nature of that confederacy namely: as a mere partnership to carry on the business of warfare the latter in turn being part of the mode of subsistence.

[7] "Based upon territory and property" according to L. H. Morgan, in contra-distinction to tribal-society, based upon "Kin." ("*Ancient Society*," chapter II, page 62).

[8] "*Art of War*," p. 95.

[9] "*Art of War*," p. 130. "*Tenure of Lands*," pp. 421, 422.

[6] "*Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 345). "Ainsi, tout ce qui se dit de Tezcuco doit s'entendre aussi des deux autres, ..." *Gomara* (p. 440, Vedia, I). "To speak of the Mexicans, signifies as much as speaking of all New Spain." The title of the section is: "Costumbres de los hombres," and the original text reads: "Hablando de méjicanos, es hablar en general de toda la Nueva-España." Although *Zurita* (p. 5) insists upon the variety of customs among the aborigines,—changing from settlement to settlement, from tribe to tribe,—his own report furnishes the proof of the contrary, and it is evident from the text that he alludes principally to the diversity in languages and dialects.

[9] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Chap. I, p. 6).